

May 15 and secured a meeting for the applicant tribal leaders and their representatives with Duffy and Skibine.

3. Four Feathers Partners Meet with Duffy and IGMS Staff on May 17, 1995

Representatives of the applicant tribes and their partners traveled to Washington for meetings at DOI on May 17, 1995.³⁵² They met first with John Duffy and George Skibine in Duffy's office. After about 45 minutes, Duffy indicated that he had to leave; they then convened in Skibine's office, where Thomas Hartman joined them.

At the initial meeting in Duffy's office, the discussion was dominated by the tribal leaders, who spoke of the financial plight of the tribes and the benefits they could reap from the Hudson casino. Witnesses generally agreed that Duffy primarily listened, initially offering little indication of where he stood; it is unclear if Skibine spoke at all. Applicant witnesses felt that Duffy had projected an attitude of indifference, and that this agitated Red Cliff Vice-Chairman George Newago – who had spoken emotionally of the continuing needs of his tribe. Several witnesses recalled Duffy's telling the group that approval of the application was not a "slam dunk."³⁵³ Duffy testified that he also explained to the tribes that "there were concerns about the

³⁵²Witnesses differed in their recollections of who attended the meeting for the applicants, although there was general agreement that the meetings were very crowded, with all the seats taken in Duffy's office and, later, people overflowing out of Skibine's office. It appears certain the attendees included Chairman Ackley and Derickson of Mole Lake, Red Cliff Vice-Chairman Newago, and LCO Vice-Chairman Trepania, as well as Goff, Havenick, Eckstein and Moody.

³⁵³Goff described this comment as a reply to Havenick, who asserted in the meeting that the decision "seems like a slam dunk." OIC Interview of Mark Goff, Aug. 25, 1998, at 11 (hereinafter "OIC Goff Int., Aug. 25, 1998"). Goff recalls that Duffy retorted, "it's not as much of a slam dunk as you think." *Id.* Duffy's testimony is generally consistent on this point. *See also, e.g.,* OIC Interview of Paul Eckstein, March 10, 1999, at 5.